

# THE POLISH REVIEW

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in Lwow





# Polish Faculty of Law at Oxford

*President Raczkiewicz Says Political and Economic Progress Cannot Be Divorced from Ancient Civilization Based on Christian Ideals!*

The solemn inauguration of the Polish Law Faculty at Oxford University took place on April 27th in the presence of President Raczkiewicz, Prime Minister Mikolajczyk, Minister of Foreign Affairs Romer, Minister of Information Kot, Minister Kaczynski, members of the National Council and Professor Stefan Glazer, future Dean of the Faculty.

President Raczkiewicz addressed the gathering as follows:

"May I express on my own behalf and on that of the Polish Government our warmest thanks for all you have said, Mr. Vice Chancellor, for all your friendliness and understanding of our needs and of our aims.

"In the first instance, it is my duty, as it is my warm desire to express to you and to Oxford University our gratitude for your decision of the greatest significance to the Polish community in this country and to the Polish Nation, deprived as it is by the invader of all its academic institutions.

"Your generous gesture on behalf of allied Poland will remain forever inscribed in the annals of our mutual relations. Thanks to Oxford University a number of our young men will be privileged to complete their juridical studies in this famous seat of British learning. In the cruel times through which we are passing, respect for law in private relations between men and in relations between nations and states acquires special significance.

"The more men's minds are tormented by anxieties as regards the future, the more they will turn towards those whose learning and vision can help to find solutions for new problems arising every day. However bold and novel may be the conceptions called for by changing circumstances in the political and economic fields amongst individuals and nations, they cannot be divorced from the accumulated store bequeathed to us by ancient civilization based on Christian ideals.

"It has fallen to the present generation to make a supreme effort to assure a better future for hu-

man society, so cruelly tried by successive wars and strife. It becomes more and more clear to the people in many countries that the solution to these evils must be sought in some form of solidarity. In public law, this principle should take the shape of an organization of States which will abolish wars and assure equal justice to all nations, whether they be weak or strong.

"We have before our eyes a model of such an organization known as the British Commonwealth of Nations. While great Empires have been built by the subjection of the individual by the all absorbing State and by the conquest of weaker nations, the British Commonwealth of Nations was evolved in accordance with a totally different principle. Political or national units originally dependent on the metropolis, gradually acquired full and equal rights within the common empire.

"While others placed their faith in 'tu regere imperio populos memento' you proclaimed 'Popule liberare atque educare memento.' These ideals are especially near to our hearts, because our own country was organized in a somewhat similar way from the 15th century to the moment of partitions, when our relations with the Lithuanians and Ruthenians were based on these very principles. Our young men who, however, are not as young today as they were when they abandoned their studies to take up arms in defense of their native land, will now have an opportunity to study in all seriousness the experiences of the past and ponder over the needs of the future.

"Thanks to the sympathetic and generous cooperation of the Senate of this university, these young Poles will be privileged to complete their education and return to their country fully equipped to share in the tasks and responsibilities which will fall to them. I can assure you, Mr. Vice Chancellor, both our professors and students will always remain steadfast upholders of the valuable cultural ties which in war and turmoil, have been established in so many fields between Poland and Great Britain.

"Poland must extend at least as far as she did before her partition, must own not only the confluents but also the deltas of her great rivers, as well as a wide strip of seacoast on the Baltic."

—Karl Marx

"Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung" (1848)

# THE WAR AGAINST CULTURE

by KAROL ESTREICHER\*

**T**HE total warfare waged by the German Reich aims not only at military victory, but desires as well the permanent crushing of conquered peoples; and in the case of Poland, complete destruction of the nation.

In addition to mass murder and execution, the mass deportation of populations into forced labor, leaders of the New Order in Europe declare ruthless war against the spiritual culture of subjugated nations, which are regarded as a threat to future German colonization. No culture, apart from that of the totalitarian conqueror, must be allowed to survive in Europe. The Nazis thesis is that it is particularly dangerous to German domination of Europe for any other nation to possess a high standard of culture. Only the master race, the *Herrenvolk*, has a right to learning and art. This is particularly true of Central and Eastern Europe, where the Nazi goal is total extermination of the Poles, Yugoslavs and Czechs, and colonization of their lands.

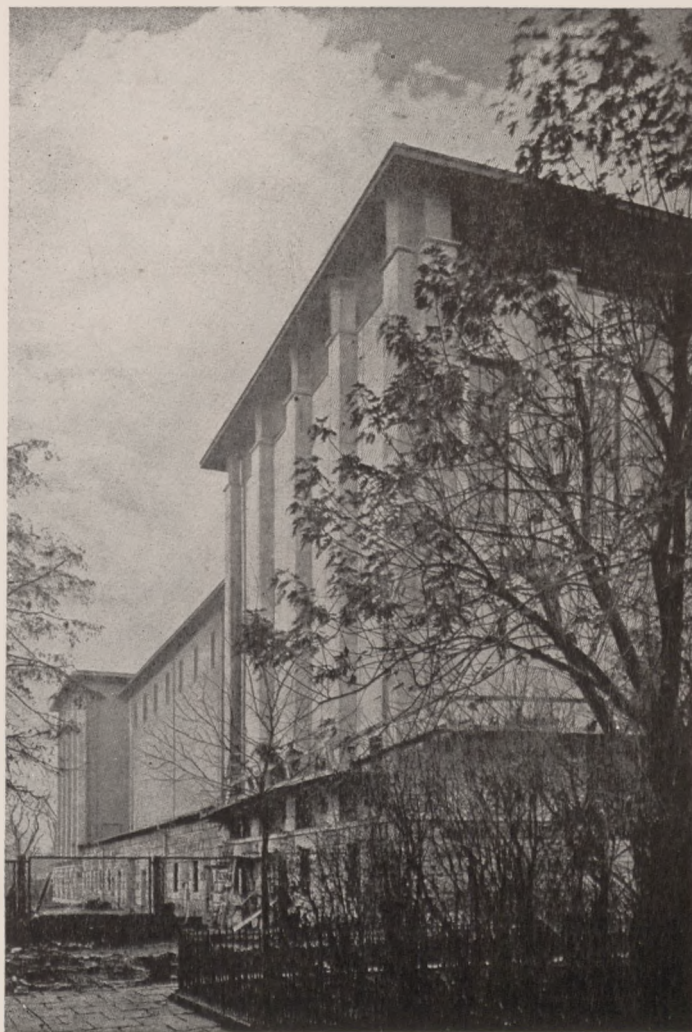
The Germans are particularly contemptuous of the Slav. Since Slavonic languages and literature are little known, Germans have for many years been the world's main informants on that subject, which they have presented scornfully, and with frequent falsification. Even German scholars, who seemingly have nothing in common with National Socialism, seem to suffer from the same hatred of everything Slavic. Nazi tactics in this respect meet with popular applause in Germany.

Yet frequently ideas and institutions that have made history appeared in the "inferior" culture of the "sub-human" Slav before they did in Germany; for example, the Czech University of Prague and the Polish University of Cracow were founded in the fourteenth century before any such institutions were known in Germany and German students came to them, as did students from all over Europe. All the great currents of European civilization have found expression in the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The Renaissance, humanism, the Reformation, classicism and romanticism, the liberal and democratic ideas of the nineteenth century—all had their exponents and interpreters in this region. The Slavic peoples have created a culture that has enriched European civilization, despite oppression and the need for a constant struggle for national independence. It is this culture, which inspires the Slavs to resist, that the Nazis want to uproot.

An example of Nazi methods is found in a confidential circular issued by Goebbels to the German press:

"The attention of the press is drawn to the fact that articles dealing with Poland must express the instinctive repulsion of the German people against everything which is Polish. Articles and news items must be drawn up in such a way as to transform this instinctive repulsion into a lasting repulsion. . . . It must be suggested to the readers that Gypsies, Jews and Poles ought to be treated on the same level. . . . Further, in drawing up news items the principle must be adopted that everything representing civilization in the Polish territory is of German origin."

The Nazi goal in Poland and other occupied Slavic countries is to deprive the subject nation of its culture and tradi-



National Museum in Warsaw looted by the Germans.

tions, and to make of the people a community of manual workers and near-slaves. Believing that there is no one in the world who can control them the Nazis proceed to this task with the utmost audacity. The examples I give are mostly Polish, because conditions in Poland are very familiar to me, but much the same procedure was followed in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece and elsewhere.

Immediately following occupation of Poland the Nazi authorities seized all libraries, museums, archives and institutions of learning. All schools and universities were closed and subject to compulsory administration by Nazi commissars. Polish professors, scholars and directors were in many cases shot, or arrested and sent to concentration camps.

Polish museum collections were systematically examined by specialists sent from Germany, and the most valuable objects appropriated by the Third Reich. Polish archives met with a similar fate. Those records which were of general

(Please turn to page 10)

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# Tatar Minority in Poland: How Polish

by L.

# Tolerance Fostered Their Patriotism

BOHDANOWICZ



Tatar cavalry shako, Duchy of Warsaw (1807-1813).

POLISH Tatars, who live in the northeastern region of the Republic, around the city of Wilno, and near the Lithuanian border, form an autonomous cultural group that had lived for many centuries within a larger political State, retaining its individual way of life as a result of the tolerant rule of the Polish government.

The ancestors of this Tatar colony came from the Golden Horde of the great Asiatic Khans, rulers in the 12th and 13th centuries of all Asia, and what is now Russia, who for several centuries were a threat

After living almost 600 years in Poland, the Polish Tatars still form a separate ethnical minority with its own traditions and customs, quite distinct from other Turco-Tatar groups. They present a variety of ethnical features from the Caucasian to Turco-Tatar types, with many intermediary aspects but with the Turco-Tatar type always predominating. The Golden Horde was composed of various tribes of different anthropological origin and there were representatives of all these tribes among the ancestors of the Polish Tatars.

This also appears from the alliances made by Jagiello's successors with the Khanates into which the Golden Horde split up. Also as very few women were with them on their arrival in Poland, the right to marry native Christian women without changing their religion was granted them. After the early abrogation of this right, the Polish Tatars have married among themselves and so the Turco-Tatar type has remained predominant.

At first it was difficult for these Tatars to settle down in their adopted land into a sedentary agricultural life, so different from their nomadic instincts. Yet gradually this was achieved, aided perhaps by coercive measures on the part of Witold. By the end of the 15th century, the Tatars were almost completely acclimatized, and by the middle of the 16th century had forgotten their native tongue. This was due in part to the fact that they intermarried to such an extent with Polish women who naturally taught their children the Polish language, particularly as the fathers were often absent for long periods of military service.

Their religious ardor, however, was not so easily cooled or forgotten. This attachment to their religion made them anxious to retain contact with co-religionists abroad and establish ties that were never broken, up to the time of the present war. Imams who came from the Crimea and Turkey to fill the ranks of their clergy possessed a Polish and White-Ruthenian literature written in Arabic characters. This included Tefsirs and Kitabs, the former voluminous books containing the translation and commentary on the Koran, the latter collections



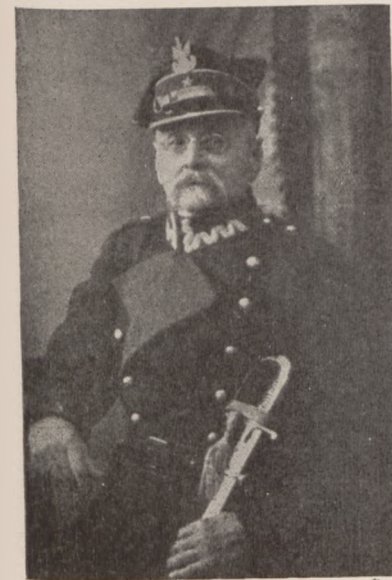
Captain of Tatar regiment in Polish cavalry, 1630.

of short stories and legends usually of a religious nature.

The zenith in the development of the Polish Tatars was reached in the middle of the 16th century, the Golden Age of Polish history. At that time they number-



Tatar lancers in Polish army, 1756. Drawing on porcelain in National Museum, Warsaw.



Romuald Smolski, a Polish Tatar, in the uniform of the veterans of the Insurrection of 1863.

Duchy of Lithuania and owning landed estates therein. We decree that the rights, liberties and privileges granted to them by our ancestors and by Us be affirmed and confirmed and that they shall enjoy the same rights as Our other subjects belonging to the nobility of Our State, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania." The political rights enjoyed by this Tatar nobility were inferior to those of the Christian nobility only in that they could neither elect nor be elected to the Diet or the provincial councils, a prohibition lasting up to the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807.

The Tatars composed three social classes: Those who had received very large estates and were bound to military service in time of war and to provide contingents of fully equipped horsemen. These were the princes, beys, mirzas, and Khans. Then there were warriors who also had received lands, but in much smaller lots and who cultivated these lands themselves. Both these classes were exempt from the payment of taxes, but were bound to military services without pay. The remainder were Tatars who had received no lands. This "proletariat" is believed to be descended from prisoners taken during the invasion of the Crimean Tatars early in the 16th century.

ed 100,000 persons, the majority spread out in the country in about a hundred colonies or villages. Each village had its own mosque. In mixed villages, the Tatars all lived in a single quarter or in adjoining streets.

A Royal decree of June 20, 1568 illustrates their legal and social position at that time. It confirms the rights and privileges of the Tatar nobility: "In view of the faithful services rendered to the cause of the State by our Tatar subjects inhabiting the Grand

Throughout their entire history, the Tatars had two main interests to the exclusion of almost all else: war and herds. However they never reached the level of land cultivation attained by the surrounding Christian population. Unable to keep the condition of their lands up to the necessary level, they migrated to the cities and joined the ranks of the proletariat. War was their true element, and their history is primarily that of their service in the Polish Army.

From the beginning,

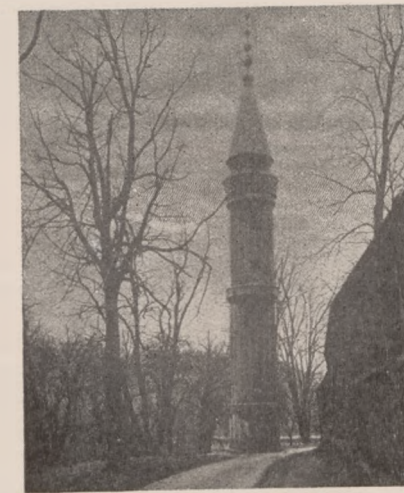


General Aleksander Romanowicz, commander of a regiment of Tatar lancers (1920).

they had the right to form their own units and be commanded by their own officers. This was partly owing to their special methods of warfare, similar to those of present-day Cossacks who learned their tactics from Tatar horsemen. From the day of their arrival in Poland they displayed great chivalry and valor, as well as patriotic devotion to their adopted land. These Polish Tatars have been immortalized by the Polish lancers called "uhlans," derived from Ulan, the name of an old and famous Polish Tatar family. Among their outstanding military heroes were Captains Bohdan and Czarowicz, who fell during the 1621 Chocim campaign of King Jan III Sobieski, and Colonels Achmatowicz, Tuhan-Baranowski, Ulan, and

Azulewicz, who distinguished themselves during the Kosciuszko insurrection of 1794.

The third partition of Poland ended the purely Polish period of their history, but did not greatly change their situation. Catherine II, in 1794 confirmed their rights and left them their religious liberty, as well as granting them wide access to civil and military careers. Her aim being to detach them from Polish culture and make them a part of Russia. However, she did not succeed, as many Tatars migrated to Turkey, following the disbandment of their old military (Please turn to p. 14)



Minaret in Warsaw.



Map of Poland showing location of Mohammedan mosques, attached to a message from Polish Moslems to King Fouad of Egypt (1932).

\*Condensed from "Moslems in Poland, Their Origin, History and Cultural Life," by L. Bohdanowicz. "Journal of Royal Asiatic Society," October, 1942.



# POLES ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

**P**OLISH Soldiers on the Italian Front try to make their life away from duty as amusing as possible.

In one devastated town, a recent front-line visitor saw an Italian organ-grinder playing Neapolitan songs to an appreciative group of Polish soldiers sitting around a camp fire.

A little Italian boy, orphaned by the war, and adopted by one of the Polish units is already learning to sing Polish songs. When soldiers of the Carpathian Brigade occupied a small town completely destroyed by the retreating Germans, they found this little twelve year old, Gennaro Cosenza, the only living soul there. He was immediately adopted and given a Polish uniform with the Brigade's insignia to replace his tattered rags.

When General Sosnkowski visited the unit, little Gennaro came up to him during the troop review. Asked by the General what his future plans were, the boy replied that he wants to go to Poland along with the Carpathian Brigade and there finish his schooling.

Only the friendliest feeling exists between these soldiers and Italian civilians who realize they are fighting for Italian freedom as much as for Polish.

Near the front, below an ancient crusader's castle, stands a small, old church, somehow mercifully spared by the war. Its square stone tower still rises above the roofs of the mountain village, and its bells, overlooked by the plundering Germans in their hasty retreat, still call the faithful to worship on Sundays.

A Polish unit quartered in this hamlet joins the congregation and from the tiny church-nave rises Poland's best-loved hymn, "Oh Lord Make This Land We Love Free Again."



General Sosnkowski, Polish Commander-in-Chief, and General Anders (first from left) on the Italian Front.

The local priest, Father Joachim Maselli, who along with his flock was quickly won over by Poland's soldiers, decided to raise a memorial to the Poles. On March 11, he had a marble tablet placed on the church wall bearing a Latin inscription which translated says:

"To the memory of the Polish Carpathian soldiers who fought the enemies of holy liberty, setting an example of Catholic faith worthy of the virtues of their nation, paying tribute in church to the Virgin of Czestochowa, who is to be revered in this house of God."

He also decided to use the contributions of these new members to build an altar to the Blessed Mother of Czestochowa and to introduce her cult to his own people.

Far different was the experience of another unit of Carpathian scouts stationed in a small mountainside village in the four-mile wide no-man's land along the Sangro River front.

For five centuries this tiny place has been haunted by a ghost. In the 15th century, the romantic daughter of the ancient Carraciolo-Caraffa family from Naples, when refused permission to marry her lover, jumped from a balcony of the 700 year old castle. Ever since then her ghost is said to have haunted the neighborhood.

At last, however, the people think this age-old spook has been laid to rest, thanks to Lieutenant Kazimierz Piotrowski, of the Polish Army patrol stationed there.

Determined to investigate the castle after hearing its weird story, he went there alone one night, leaving his men stationed outside but within earshot. It was almost midnight when he entered, and he tiptoed cautiously through the dark halls, climbing slowly to the top of the tower, all the time keeping his ears wide open for any untoward sounds.

Near the top he heard a sort of sniffing from behind a closed door. Revolver in hand, he crept up, kicked the door open, and fired a shot into the ceiling, shouting "Come out! Hands up!"

To his great amazement, who should emerge but a peasant girl with a shawl over her head. For a split second Piotrowski was stunned. Then he marched the girl downstairs before him. Some of the villagers, awakened by the shot, were startled to see her.

She was a refugee on her way South in an effort to find her family. She had been a student at the University of Milan. The excited villagers nevertheless were convinced that she really was the ghost of the Carraciolos' daughter.

## THE BATTLE OF THE GARIGLIANO RIVER

Polish troops of the Carpathian and Kresowa Divisions who are fighting side by side with their British and American allies on the Italian Front, recently took part in an engagement on the Garigliano River, near Cassino.

Polish commandos attached to a Division of the American Fifth Army spearheaded the attack. Their task was to penetrate enemy lines, raid headquarters, destroy communications, and take prisoners.

Orders were to infiltrate enemy lines at night, but valuable hours of darkness were spent in destroying enemy emplacements that could not be spotted by the Allied artillery.

When morning came, the little group was still in no-man's land, on a hill overlooking the river, and beyond were carefully camouflaged enemy machine gun nests, that should



Soldiers of the Carpathian Division advancing to the battle line.

have been taken before dawn. The Allied lines were some distance behind the commandos, but the difficult mountain terrain offered good cover under which the Polish troops could advance unobserved.

A new type of soldier is being developed by mountain fighting in Italy. He likes this war of stealthy approach, of ambush, and patrols. Each Pole's ambition is to capture a German soldier. They all are experts at surprise warfare.

After the main road leading through enemy-held villages was reached, the commandos came to a steep bare slope up which they had to climb. A small farmhouse surrounded by a high wall, undoubtedly a German observation post, overlooked this position.

A lance corporal who crept ahead to reconnoiter, surprised a group of Germans stationed around the house. His tommy-gun jammed, but he did not hesitate to jump out of hiding, fiercely brandishing the useless weapon, and shout, "Hands up!" It worked. The Germans were taken prisoners without a shot.

By this time the rest of the patrol had been spotted by another enemy observation post and some of them, including the officer were killed. A German company, hiding in one of the farm buildings, quickly moved to the hilltop, took up a position behind the wall, and opened heavy fire on the commandos. The few men left in the Polish patrol kept up the fight, although they knew that their chances of escape were slim. One of them was sent back to the main Polish force and a platoon was moved up to relieve the surrounded patrol.

Luckily the Germans, who had no idea of the strength of the commandos, moved cautiously. There was still time to rescue the gallant patrol. Disregarding enemy fire, the relief force crossed the barren tract of land and reached the wall which protected the Nazis' position. Jumping over, they attacked with everything they had — pistols, knives, hand grenades and tommy-guns.

When the Germans retired, they left behind thirty dead, besides wounded and prisoners.



Observation post of Carpathian Division on the Italian Front.

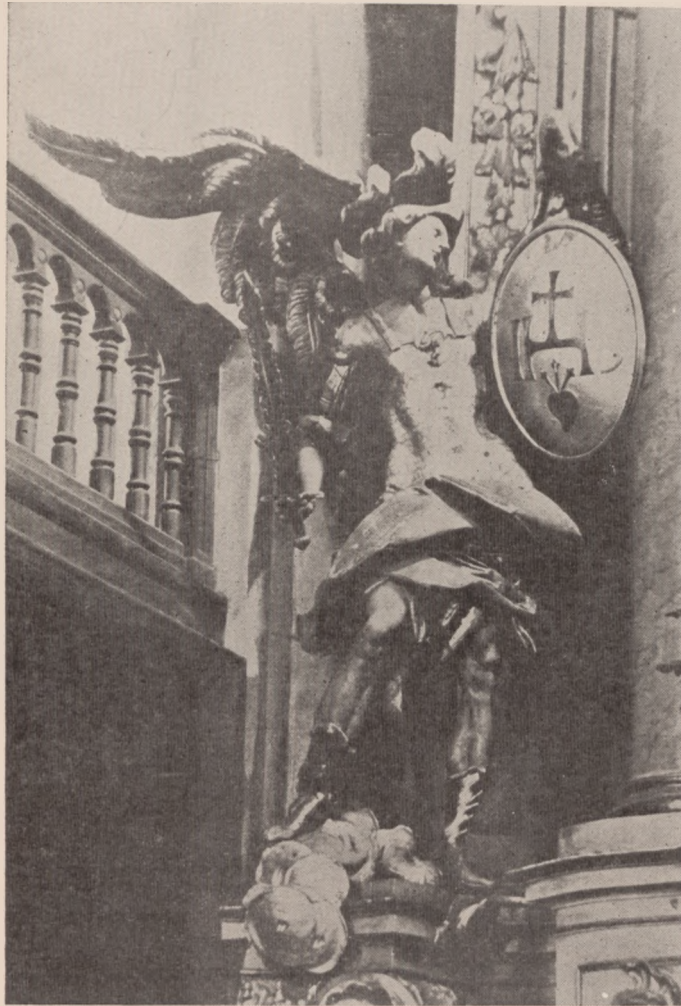


Polish units on their way to the Italian Front.



# Antoni Osinski—Sculptor Extraordinary of Southeastern Poland

by WALTER C. BOW



Archangel Michael, Parish church in Monasterzyska, Southeastern Poland.

Brothers and the St. Jur Cathedral. Here was active the most talented of Polish fresco painters, Stanislaw Stroinski, who with his pupils covered the walls of many a building with interesting decorations. And then there were a number of fine sculptors—some foreign like Thomas Hutter, Conrad Kutschenschreiter and George Markwart, others Polish: Maciej Polejowski, Master Pinzl, Jan Rydel, and the best of them all—Antoni Osinski.

For many years Polish historians of art were puzzled by superbly sculptured figures in various churches in and near Lwow. They recognized the mark of genius upon them but could not discover their author and sometimes attributed them to one of the known Polish sculptors of the 18th century.

But in 1937 Zbigniew Hornung published a monograph proving that these sculptures were the work of a forgotten Polish sculptor, Antoni Osinski, whose greatness had not been recognized by his contemporaries, and who himself perhaps did not realize the magnitude of his contribution to art.

After long research, involving study of church and city records, Hornung even succeeded in piecing together the story of Osinski's life.

Although the exact date of birth of this Polish sculptor is unknown, it must be assumed that he was the son of Walenty

Lwow artists who had refused to join a guild, preferring to free lance, he was brought to trial and compelled to join the masons' and sculptors' guild. Shortly after, he received the right to wear a sword, a privilege reserved to the city's esteemed citizens. In all probability, Osinski died around 1765 in the prime of his creative activity.

The first work of this mysterious artist who left so many masterpieces in Southeastern Poland was the monumental main altar and the sixteen figures under the dome of the Dominican Church in Lwow. So, although these could by no means be considered his best work, Osinski was for many years identified as the Dominican Master, and the name has stuck to this day.

The main altar in the Dominican Church from about 1752 betrays miniature technique, schematic anatomy, and an attempt to create sumptuous effects by over-complicated treatment of draperies. The sculptor's art and outlook were still in a formative stage. Much better are the eight pairs of figures in wood, personifying various orders of St. Augustine and two knightly orders founded by St. Dominic, placed high on the projecting ledges formed by the extension of columns in the church's elliptical interior. The elegance of form and nervous movement of these beautiful, worldly and well dressed cavaliers were a departure from the traditional prayerful attitude of earlier religious art. The fine gesticulation, exquisite treatment of draperies and chiaroscuro effect of these figures, as well as the beautiful sculpture of crucified Christ in a niche by the entrance to the sacristy gave promise of the heights which Osinski was soon to reach.

Having attracted wide attention by his sculptures in this Church,

the Dominican Master was swamped with commissions from monasteries and church dignitaries. For the middle of the 18th century was a period of intense church building activity in Southeastern Poland.

In rapid succession, Osinski worked in the Bernardine Church in Leszniow (1754) and in St. Martin's Church in Lwow. For the latter, he executed four figures in the main altar—Peter, Paul, The Virgin Mary, and St. Barbara. His touch had become more mature. Each figure was more rounded and light, full of dynamic movement. St. Barbara is conceived as a ballet dancer, charming, radiant and happy. The crucified Christ in the left-side altar is in marked contrast to Barbara's vitality. His face is distorted with pain, every muscle of His emaciated body stands out. There is no idealization or theatrical pathos, but a shattering realism

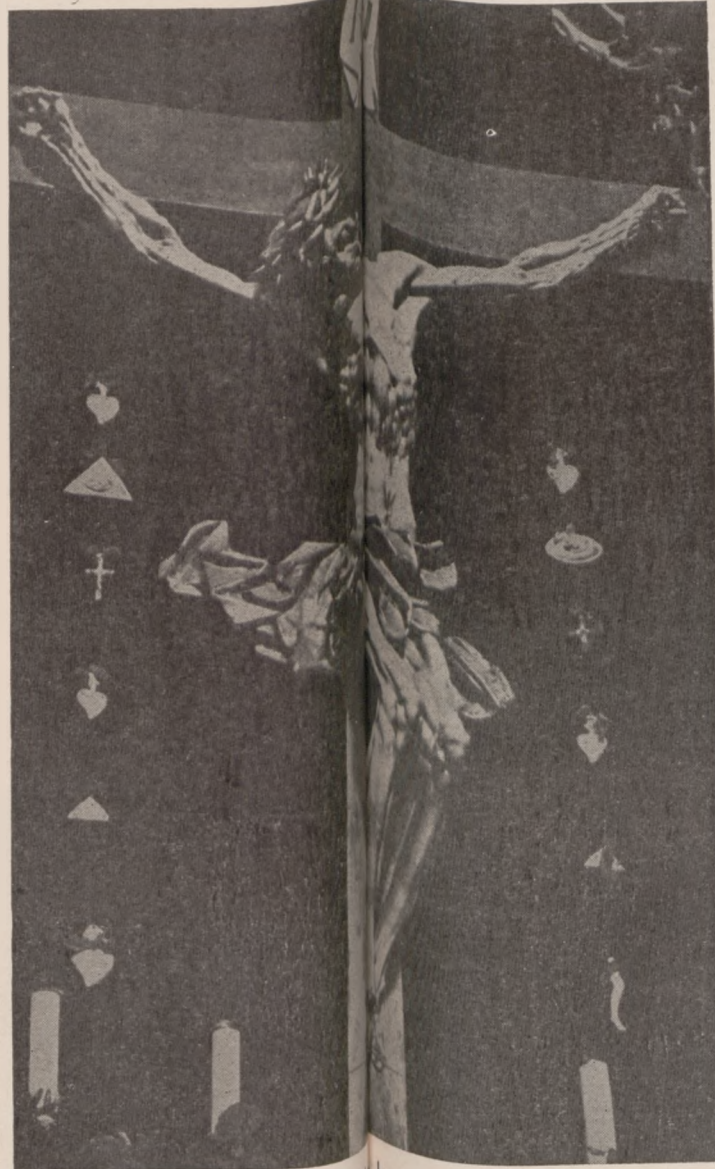
bordering on naturalism, that somehow remains esthetic.

After completing his work on the altar of St. Tecla in the Bernardine Church in Lwow, Osinski worked from 1756 to 1759 in the Bernardine Church at Zbaraz, where he executed figures for the decoration of several side altars. Among these the statue of St. Rose stands out,—a lovely graceful creature shown in a dance step—and that of a monk lost in mystic ecstasy, demonstrating that the sculptor had already mastered his art.

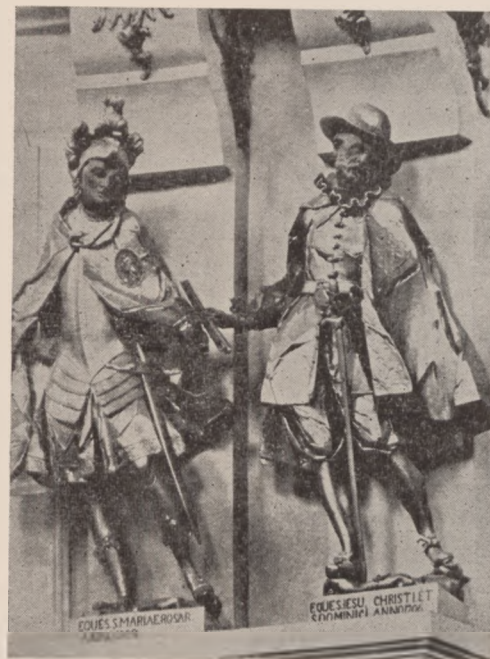
Unmistakably related to these sculptures in the Zbaraz Church are the masterly altar figures of the parish church in Monasterzyska, in which Osinski's talent is shown in full maturity. The art style peculiar to this Polish sculptor found its best expression in two life-size figures of the Archangel Michael and the Guardian Angel. The winged Archangel, clad in his tight fighting coat of silvery mail, holding a round shield and a flaming sword, strikes an attitude of terrific energy. The Guardian Angel is even more dynamic. A handsome, slim youth with an almost feminine face and long slender legs, he points heavenward, while the fat baby clinging to his arm introduces a joyous erotic element into the composition. This is rococo at its best, full of ethereal charm and lightness, reflecting the esthetic ideals of a period that set great store by exquisite daintiness.

These same formal values and affectation characterize a series of decorative figures of women symbolizing the cardinal

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Crucifixion, St. Martin's Church, Lwow, Southeastern Poland.



Figures in Dominican Church, Lwow, Southeastern Poland.

and Katarzyna Osinski, Lwow burghers, whose names appear in the city records of 1715. From the beginning he was strongly influenced by contemporary rococo sculpture then flourishing in Western Europe. A record has been found of Osinski's payment of rental from 1754 to 1762 for a dwelling in a Lwow suburb. Doubtless, the fact that he lived outside the city limits accounts for the scarcity of recorded data about him. He married Rozalia Polejowska, sister of the famous Lwow sculptor, Maciej Polejowski, and had six children by her. In 1757, together with other



Guardian Angel, Parish church in Monasterzyska, Southeastern Poland.



(Continued from page 9)

virtues in the parish church of Nawaria, in which the artist succeeded with unparalleled skill in capturing the charming lightness of their dance movements.

The opulent sculpture of the main altar in the church of Hodowica, built in 1760 is regarded as the peak of Osinski's artistic development. With striking power of expression, the master portrays here the moving tragedy of Golgotha. In none of his works thus far is the treatment of drapery so rich and pictorial as in the figures of sorrowing Mary and Joseph running to help her, set in superbly carved consoles. Of equal artistic worth are two adjacent groups, showing Isaac's sacrifice and Samson's Fight with the Lion. Abraham, the hoary fanatic patriarch, who with curved sword raised high, approaches the funeral pyre, on which his son lies, trembling with fear but unaware of his father's intention, reveals much dramatic action in the eloquent movement of his hands. And in the stylization of the vanquished Lion, the Artist reached the limits of formal abstraction by showing a body convulsed by the agony of death and transformed as it were, into ornamental twisting tongues of fire. This, Osinski's most important work, a masterpiece of rococo art, remained unfinished. It lacks an architectural frame that would link the figure motifs into a complete composition. Nevertheless, the altar is an harmonious expression of its creator's gothic integrity and courtly culture—so that despite its incompleteness, it captivates by the delicacy of its expression and the sensuous nature of the over-all movement.

Osinski's noble taste, his subtle presentation, ethereal charm and sweeping movement — surpass by far many of the



*Samson and the Lion, Parish church in Hodowica, Southeastern Poland.*



*Isaac's Sacrifice, Parish church in Hodowica, Southeastern Poland.*

contemporary European sculptors of this period. There is no trace of crudeness or vulgarity in the Polish artist, nor does he fall into exaggeration. His works have a certain nervous charm and daintiness, as well as a lofty nobility and more feeling than can be found in all the rococo sculpture of Western Europe. Those traits find expression especially in the extraordinary richness and coquettish gestures of his feminine figures.

Unknown for many generations, Antoni Osinski, in the opinion of Zbigniew Hornung, was one of the greatest sculptors Poland ever produced.

## THE WAR AGAINST CULTURE

(Continued from page 3)

historical value were taken to Germany: only those pertaining to property, courts and vital statistics were allowed to remain in Poland, to be used in Nazi administration.

Polish churches, which for centuries have housed Poland's greatest art treasures, were subjected to systematic plunder, and the best pieces sent to Germany. Individual collections were rifled. It is impossible to estimate the damage done to Polish art without listing specific works, but it can easily be seen to be catastrophic.

A rough estimate of the amount and distribution of Nazi damage to Polish culture and learning is as follows: museums 95%; libraries 60-70% archives 40%; churches 30%.

It was not the Gestapo alone that was responsible for the destructive onslaught on Polish culture: civil and military authorities everywhere cooperated in the plunder and destruction.

(Please turn to page 12)



# David Herman and the Jewish Theatre in Poland

by HALINA CHYBOWSKA

*When David Herman died in New York in May 1937, the Jewish theatre suffered an irreparable loss. For it was Herman who transformed a primitive, melodramatic, inartistic medium into a work of art, admired by Jews and non-Jews alike.*

*The following account is based on facts obtained in an interview with Herman's widow, Sara Berholtz Herman, whose career as social worker never interfered with her devotion to the gifted Polish-Jewish director, whose helpmeet and confidante she was from the day they were married in 1901.*

HERMAN was born in Warsaw in 1876 of well-to-do but very Orthodox Jewish parents. Even as a boy of 15, however, he determined to free himself of the confining atmosphere of his home, and with nine other boys, also from strict Orthodox homes, organized a self-education circle to prepare for the State examinations.

After completing his studies in Cracow, he enrolled in the Polish Dramatic School, where such great artists as Gruberski, Frenkiel and Rapacki were training a new generation of actors for the Polish Theatre, one of the finest in Europe. Three months later, his outstanding ability won him a scholarship. Acting was regarded with horror by his devout parents, so the young man kept his studies secret, changing from his traditional Jewish costume to Western dress at the home of a friend every morning and reversing the procedure at night. But when David Herman was graduated from the Dramatic School with honors, a friend of the family congratulated his mother, unaware that she had been kept in the dark. The good woman promptly fainted away and became so ill she had to be taken to the country. Her alarmed son promised to drop the theatre for the time being.

He received a post as teacher of natural science in the Wegrowicz School in 1902. Later up to 1917 he taught Jewish history and literature in Zofia Kalecka's progressive



David Herman.

High School. But Herman was too gifted an artist to keep away from the theatre for long. Under the influence of the Jewish writer, I. L. Peretz, he abandoned his original intention of becoming a Polish actor and decided instead to reform the Jewish Theatre in Poland by introducing ideas that had come to him in Dramatic School and drawing on the Jewish repertoire of such writers as Peretz, Asch and Aleichem.

So, in 1904 he organized the first Jewish dramatic workshop in Warsaw and called it the I. L. Peretz Workshop. This was followed by others. Soon, attention began to be attracted to the teacher whose hobby was directing and acting, and who was making such ruthless changes in the Jewish theatre.

At that time the Jewish theatre was at a very low level. To be sure, many of its actors were talented but untrained. The Jewish theatre had no director, actors deciding among themselves all details of stage management, the script was rarely adapted to the needs of the stage, there were no real rehearsals,

actors repeated their parts after the prompter. In all fairness, it must be admitted they could not do otherwise, for they presented a new play every week. Repertoires were limited to crude melodrama.

Like any innovator, Herman met with opposition from the actors who believed he was interfering with their sacred tradition of acting. Undaunted, he insisted a play be rehearsed not one week, but several months. Individual and group rehearsals were held, the prompter's booth was done away with, directing, decorating and period costuming were introduced. Scripts were rewritten to suit stage requirements. A bitter opponent of the star system, Herman insisted the most minor part be played with as much care and ability as the lead.

By 1907 Herman was director of the musical-literary society *Hazomir*. In that year were presented the first Herman-directed plays: *The Sisters* (Peretz); *Mitn Shtrom* (Asch); *Masoltov* (Shalom Aleichem). In Plock, where many Polish Jewish intellectuals lived, *Hazomir's* appearances were so successful that even the Poles attended. 1907 also marked the initial performance of the Herman-directed *Dramatic Circle* in Warsaw. Two years later, Herman, a social democrat in the broad sense, was forced to leave Poland to escape Russian persecution. His home had been ransacked no less than seven times for illegal Polish literature. He went to Vienna, asking the playwright Peretz-Hirshbein to take over his workshop and theatre in his absence. In Vienna he organized a theatre with Egon Brecher and produced two Jewish plays in German: *Isaac Sheftel* and *The Tzvi Family*. The famous Sonnenthal asked Herman to join the German theatre, but Herman refused, preferring to continue his work with the Jewish theatre. Meanwhile, Herman's Warsaw students had gone down to Odessa with Peretz-Hirshbein and clamored for their teacher to come back. Herman rejoined the group and remained its artistic director, although for reasons of personal safety he could not give his name to the company.

During World War I a group of Jewish amateur actors had organized a company in Wilno, under Leib Kadison.

(Please turn to page 12)



David Herman Theatre Exhibit in Wilno, 1938.



# DAVID HERMAN AND THE JEWISH THEATRE IN POLAND

(Continued from page 11)

But although Kadison was undeniably talented, the group soon outgrew his abilities and turned to David Herman, asking him to become their head. Herman agreed on condition that the Wilno Company merge with his Warsaw dramatic workshop. The Wilno actors agreed and in 1919 came to Warsaw. Herman now gave up teaching and devoted his full time to the Jewish theatre. His association with the Wilno Company lasted up to 1930.

To the Wilno Company Herman brought all his cherished ideas. He did away with the star system, welded his actors into a cohesive ensemble, and scorning melodrama, concentrated on a literary repertoire.

When Herman rehearsed his cast, artists and writers considered it a privilege to be permitted to attend. A true artist, he insisted on the right actor for the right part, on the best decorations and costumes. As a result, his productions stood out by their unusual rhythm, tone and color.

Herman had the rare gift of directing and staging any literary work of merit so well that its dramatic shortcomings could not be discerned by the spectator. Hence, none of his productions was ever an artistic or even a box-office failure.

His greatest success, one that was to place him in the ranks of great directors, was the *Dybuk*. This four act folk mystery play by Anski, who had come from Russia to induce Herman to direct it, was a literary but non-scenic play. Herman's treatment turned it into a masterpiece. The Polish actors and artists who came to view this new work in rehearsal, came away inspired and impressed. The opening night of the *Dybuk* was one of the most successful in the history of the Jewish Theatre. The play was presented in a theatre on Karowa Street, off busy Krakowskie Przedmiescie. Its fame spread so quickly that when the motorman stopped the trolley car at Karowa, he called out "Dybuk" instead of the street name.

Throughout Herman's association with the Wilno Company, he put on plays by such outstanding Jewish writers as Peretz Hirshbein, Pinski, Nomberg, Asch, Shalom Aleichem, Preger, Hebbel, Lewinsohn, I. L. Peretz, Katayev, Leyvik. Masterpieces like the *God of Wrath*, *The Golem*, *It's Hard to be a Jew* formed part of the repertoire.

In 1921 a split occurred in the Wilno Company. One group, including the better actors, left for performances in Berlin. They entreated Herman to join them. He finally consented. For two years he toured the great cities of Europe with the Wilno Company, meeting with a warm reception wherever he appeared. True, he often had to overcome great opposition to his theatre—especially in Germany, where the Jewish community looked askance upon any attempt to sponsor Yiddish drama. But once a performance was given, all his erstwhile opponents withdrew their objections and the initial run would be extended.

After the presentation of the *Dybuk* in the Royal Theatre in Belgium, the Belgium Government returned the fee paid by the Company, stating the Theatre's charter provided that true art was to be shown gratis and that in the future the Wilno Company could have the Theatre on two weeks notice.

In Paris, old Sarah Bernhardt, very sick and still inter-

ested in the theatre, was brought to see the *Dybuk* on a litter.

Perhaps the crowning feature of the tour came in London, where all the Sunday newspapers published an appeal to English theatre directors asking them to release their actors so that they might have the opportunity to see what histrionic heights an ensemble like the Wilno Company could reach.

Added to this was a sequence of ovations and banquets in virtually every city the actors visited.

In the course of his European tour, Herman received tempting offers from American Jewish producers to come to the United States. He refused them all, however, feeling that he would not be able to keep his work on the same high level in a country where the Jewish theatre going public was not educated to experimental theatre. He preferred to return to Poland and continue his work there. However, most of the Wilno Company, lured by the picture of wealth painted by American impresarios, decided to cross the Atlantic. They had cause to regret their decision, for theatrical rivalries, union difficulties and the depression combined to destroy them as an acting unit.

Meanwhile, it must be remembered that the Wilno Company touring with Herman was but one branch of the original Wilno Company. The other branch, after the split back in 1921, had gone to Vienna and Rumania, under the direction of Leib Kadison. But they too, hoped Herman would one day rejoin them. Finally, in 1928, they terminated their successful tour and came back to Poland and to Herman, Kadison leaving for America.

Upon his return to Poland, Herman produced a number of hits. A sensation was Jacob Preger's *Temptation*, which had its premiere in Lwow. *Night in the Old Market Square* by I. L. Peretz was another success. Well constructed, but complicated, mystic and symbolic, Herman alone dared touch it. In 1930 David Bergelson's *The Deaf Man* was presented in Warsaw. It won the author's praise and a statement that the Polish presentation was superior even to the Russian one.

In between his regular work, Herman found time to create the Jewish opera by presenting *David and Bat Sheva*; to organize *Azazel*, first Jewish musical revue; and to direct the *Goldfaden Dramatic Workshop* in Stanislawow.

When the Ibsen Centennial was held in Oslo in 1928, Norway invited four world-famous directors to present gems of the theatre. Herman was one of the four men so honored. He was asked to present the *Dybuk* in Norwegian, a language he did not know. Supplied with a staff of translators and fine Norwegian actors, the result was a memorable performance of the Jewish folk play.

In August 1933 Herman finally yielded to urgent pleas from America and came to New York at the invitation of the editor of the Jewish *Forward*. But Herman's life here was a disappointment. Rivalries, financial difficulties, the low artistic level of the Jewish theatre here—all militated against a repetition of his Polish success. He did present the *Dybuk* in New York, but it was his swan song. He died soon after a broken and disillusioned man. But his work was not forgotten. Europe, Cuba and Canada wrote about him. And even far-off Australia has a *David Herman Dramatic Workshop*, founded by one of his many loyal pupils.

## THE WAR AGAINST CULTURE

(Continued from page 10)

tion. Even German scholars helped prepare the way in pre-war years by visiting Poland in order to draw up secret inventories, and by sending their students—supposedly engaged in scientific research—to do the same.

The Nazis figure that whatever the outcome of the war they will have destroyed all cultural competition to the east of them. They also count on being able to keep those treasures they already have. The Allied Nations, in their desire

to be just, should not make the mistake of allowing this to happen. Besides helping in the job of restoring schools, universities, etc. which have been destroyed, we should see to it that the Nazis make good what they have stolen in their nationalistic fury. Moreover, such wantonness must be punished according to international law.

Today, the Slavs' cultural heritage gives them inspiration and strength to resist Nazi barbarism with death. Tomorrow, that heritage will be the basis of new cultural achievements to enrich the world's life.



# POLISH UNDERGROUND IN ACTION

WHEN the first Red Army units crossed into Eastern Poland, Polish Underground organizations, following plans worked out with the Polish Government in London, contacted the Russian military commanders. The Polish Government in London had sent a special emissary with important instructions for the Polish Underground and this official who acts under the name of Jerzy Jur personally visited the Soviet headquarters and is now back in London with the first full report of the entrance of the Russian Army into Eastern Poland. Just before his tragic death, General Wladyslaw Sikorski had sent Jerzy Jur out with important instructions for the Deputy Prime Minister, who is the Government's delegate in Poland, and for the political representation to Poland consisting of the four political parties forming the coalition government.

"Delegates from local underground units, carrying the red and white flag of Poland," Jur related, "arrived at the headquarters of the Russian commander to whom the Polish chief presented a signed and sealed declaration to the effect that:

"Acting under orders from the Polish Government in London, we meet the forces of the Soviet Union on Polish soil as co-belligerents in the fight against our common enemy—Germany. Poland was the first country to wage war in defense of her own as well as other nations' independence and she has fought Germany unrelentingly, side by side with her Allies, for more than four years. At the same time we bring to your knowledge that, in these territories under the German occupation, there is in existence an administration secretly organized by the Polish State. We expect that, in accordance with international law, the Soviet Army during military operations on Polish soil will enable the Polish authorities to ensure the social and economic welfare of the population."

According to information in the possession of the Polish Government, formations of the Polish Underground Army have already carried out these instructions in the following places: Ostrog, Zdobunow, Witoldow, Rowne, Kostopol, Rzebraze, Mlynow, Janowa Dolina, Lozowa, Rozyszcze, Antomocka, Turczyn and Zaturge.

Moreover, several formations of this Underground Army have established contact with Soviet paratroops behind the front line in localities which, for obvious reasons, cannot be revealed. The regional commander of the Polish Underground Army in the Volhynia sector established direct contact with the Soviet Commander there.

The latest information received from Poland indicates that in several instances collaboration between the Polish underground unit in Volhynia and the Soviet army operating there is already completed.

Polish Army headquarters further reports that during the seventh, eighth and ninth of March, the Polish Underground Army in Malopolska and Volhynia destroyed railway lines between Krasne-Brode, and Krasne-Tarnopol-Tremblowa, derailed sixteen trains, four of which were completely destroyed with a loss to the enemy of four engines and forty-seven coaches. The evacuation of five German transports from Tarnopol was prevented, while successful engagements took place in Tarnopol and Mikulince. In Volhynia, during a three-day fight near Wlodzimierz, Polish and enemy units were entrenched opposite each other. German planes bombed Polish units as well as a bridge built by Polish sappers over the Turcia river.

Simultaneously efforts of the Underground Army to sabotage rear line communications of the retreating Germans have increased. Enemy supply routes are being cut whenever and wherever possible. Naturally this heightens the already existing confusion in the Germans' rear while at the same time it forces the Wehrmacht to keep strong units away from the front to fight these invisible guerrilla divisions.

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RZECZPOSPOLITA POLSKA

FIS 15

## NA ZIEMIACH RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ

### NIEMCY CHCĄ ZDLAWIĆ PRACĘ PODZIEMNĄ

Bezprzekładny terror jaki na rozkaz niemieckiego „rządu” okupacyjnego stał się szczególnie od października systemem rządzenia na ziemiach polskich, najdramatyczniej przejawiał się w Warszawie, gdzie Niemcy przeprowadzili 29 egzekucji publicznych, mordując łącznie 983 Polaków. Poza tymi egzekucjami, ogłaszającymi na dwójcecznych, czerwonych alizach przez cały gruzdzień trwały na terenie dawnego ghetta tajne egzekucje. W tym samym czasie w Krakowie rozstrzelano 258 osób; liczba publicznie rozstrzelanych na terenie województwa krakowskiego dochodzi do 700. W Białymostku 8.XII. rozstrzelano 280 osób, w Ciesztoku — 20 (20.XII.), w Siedlcach — 10 (17.XII.), w Łukowie — 20 (2.XII.), itd.

W całym Kraju przeprowadzano aresztowania na dużą skalę, zarówno po wszech i miastach. Największe nasilenie przybrały aresztowania w woj. warszawskim, gdzie w każdym niemal powiecie aresztowano po kilkadziesiąt osób z różnych miejscowości; tak np. w samym tylko powiecie garwolińskim od 1 — 15.XII. aresztowano 32 osoby z 17 miejscowości; w pow. warszawskim od 14 — 18.XII. aresztowano 150 osób, w pow. skierniewickim — 55 osób (16 — 22.XII.), w pow. Ostrow Maz. — 45 (15 — 18.XII.), w pow. Mińsk Maz. — 58 (14 — 18.XII.), itd. W woj. krakowskim największe aresztowania odbyły się w Niepołomicach i okolicy (ok. 300 osób, z tego 30 rozstrzelanych) oraz na całym Podhalu. Akcje legitymacyjną przeprowadza się już nie tylko w miastach, lecz i w gminach wiejskich. W Warszawie i Krakowie Niemcy prowadzą również patrolowanie ulic, połączone z legitymowaniem i rewidowaniem przechodniów. W Krakowie akcja ta prowadzona była szczególnie w okresie świątecznym, natomiast w Warszawie jest ona stałym narzędziem walki z Polską Podziemną. Patrole obejmują całe miasto i dzielą go codziennie, licząc nie raz do 20 osób wyposażonych w broń ręczną, granaty i pistolety maszynowe. Codziennie zachodzą wypadki przytłaczania i zastrzelenia rewidowanych przechodniów. Ostatnio w dniu 4.I. patrol zastrzelił młodą dziewczynę, która w drodze do komisariatu usiłowała zbiec.

Akcja ta wobec zbliżającej się klęski Niemiec ma na celu zdławienie pracy Polskiej Podziemnej, spędzającej Niemcom sen z oczu. Pełny odwet nasz jest już niedaleki.

### NASZ ODWET

Liczne zamachy i katastrofy kolejowe na ziemiach polskich zadaly Niemcom duże straty. Poza wysadzeniem w powietrze niemieckich pociągów pędzących k. stacji Skrudu (4.XII.) i pod Celestynowem (12.XII.), w dniu 10.XII. wysadzono 4 pociągi: na linii Łuków — Lublin, Łuków — Biała Podlaska, Łuków — Bieżeń i Lublin — Rozwadow. Straty w Niemczech znaczne. W ciągu 2 tylko dni grudnia zanotowano 5 wypadków: 22.XII. na linii Rozwadow — Dębica pociąg towarowy wpadł na stacji Osika na pociąg osobowy; przerwa w ruchu kilka godzin. 23.XII. w katastrofie kolejowej na stacji Kraków — Płaszów zginęło ok. 40 Niemców. Przerwa w ruchu 10 godzin. Tego samego dnia uległ również katastrofie pociąg na stacji Medyka k. Przemyśla. 2.I. br. wydarzyły się 2 katastrofy. Na linii Karsznica — Wolbrom wykołcił się pociąg wojskowy, a na linii Zagnęsk — Węgle pociąg najechał na parowóz. Przerwa w ruchu trwała 14 godzin. Przy wysadzeniu pociągu na linii Łuków — Dęblin k. stacji Swidry (17.XII.) zginęło 20 Niemców. Ciągłe katastrofy i niszczenie taboru kolejowego wprowadzają coraz większą dezorganizację do kolejnictwa i transportów wojskowych. W ciągu jednego tylko dnia stycznia b. r. zanotowano w dyrekcji krakowskiej zniszczenie 300 wagonów towarowych; na terenie tej dyrekcji niemal 1/4 parowozów nie nadaje się do użytku. Składy węgla na stacjach wyczerpują się, parowozownie są zmurszone, nie ma korzystać z żelaznych zapasów. W Nowy Rok pociąg wojskowy z węglem dla terenów przyfrontowych został wyladowany w połowie na stacji Kraków — Płaszów, w połowie na stacji Rzeszów. Postępująca dezorganizacja nie zdola nic już powstrzymać.

### NA ZIEMIACH ZACHODNICH — ARRESTOWANIA I BRANKA NA ROBOTY

Na całych Ziemiach Zachodnich trwały aresztowania inteligencji i b. wojskowych. Poza Poznaniem, gdzie aresztowano kilkadziesiąt osób, w Ostrowie Wlkp. aresztowano 20 osób, w Inowrocławiu — 200, w polubskich Mętwach — 50 itd. Poważne rozmiury przybrała branka na roboty, przeprowadzona w Wielkopolsce i województwie łódzkim. Z każdego powiatu wywieziono ok. 1.000 osób, z Poznania zaś kilka tysięcy. Branka objęła głównie młodzież

Description of Polish sabotage activities in the Polish Underground newspaper *Rzeczpospolita Polska*, January, 1944.

Jerzy Jur confirmed the news that the Germans have unsuccessfully attempted to incite Poles against the Russians and that they have even made open suggestions that Poles and Germans unite against the Red Army.

"But the hatred of Germans," Jur added, "is far too deeply rooted in the entire population ever to be forgotten under any pretext whatsoever. The Germans' strongest propaganda cannot alter this feeling. The morale of the Poles has never been better, nor has there ever been greater unity among them than now!

"The Polish Nation awaits orders from London to take up arms in its final and decisive fight against the German hordes. Nothing can ever weaken the faith of the Polish people in the inevitability of a complete Allied victory over Germany."

On his arrival in Poland, Jur worked for several months in a department of the secret administration. Speaking with the knowledge gained through this experience, he said when asked what Poland needs most:

"We need more arms. The amount of arms and equipment at our disposal is far short of our needs. A larger supply of arms is most urgent and essential to enable the Polish Underground Army to increase its activities.

"The spirit of the People is magnificent—everybody is eager to fight the Germans. Every district of Poland and every operational unit of the Underground has been fully organized. Some are already in actual combat, others are

(Please turn to page 14)



## TATAR MINORITY IN POLAND: HOW POLISH TOLERANCE FOSTERED THEIR PATRIOTISM

(Continued from page 5)

regiments in Poland. Other Tatars materially aided the great Polish insurrections of the 19th Century. Many also served in the Grand Army of Napoleon. During the early 20th Century, a fresh emigration began, prompted by economic reasons, this time to the New World.

Before the first world war, the Polish Tatars were a nominal dependency of the Muftiate of the Crimea, but distance prevented truly close ties. Many worked with Joseph Pilsudski during the years preceeding the formation of his legions, and many more fought beside him throughout the war. Out of a population of 20,000 people, the Tatars supplied Poland with eighteen generals and a considerable number of other officers and enlisted men.

During the period of Poland's independence, leadership of the Polish Tatars passed to Jacob Szynekiewicz, later their Mufti, and to the brothers Olguierd and Arstan Naiman-Mirza Kryczynski. Ishcander Achmatowicz, another of these leaders, became after the war, a senator of Poland. Under Mufti Szynekiewicz, a doctor of oriental languages, came a revival of Tatar religious life. Courses for Imams were established by the State, and young men were sent to Cairo to study Moslem theology at Azhar University. Poland rebuilt all mosques destroyed by the last war.

Throughout the 20 years of Poland's reborn independence, the government restored all civil and political rights to the Tatars. The greatest advance made in modern times by Polish Tatars has come in their upper classes which, because of the full rights granted them by the Polish Government, turned from their former profession of militarism to the civil service and various other occupations. They have held important posts as senators, university professors, judges of the court of appeals and officers in the army.

The Tatars continued to be governed religiously under the Moslem Shariat. Polygamy, however, was not practiced, and their women could not, in society, be distinguished from Polish women. During this period of Polish independence, many Tatar women received a higher education and held various important positions. One such woman, for instance, was appointed assistant in the Wilno faculty of

medicine. Mixed marriages, however, were rare, because of the Tatars' attachment to their religion. A Tatar who changes his religion is socially ostracized by the Moslem community.

True to its policy of fostering general culture in the life of its Tatar population, the Polish Government encouraged the publication of Tatar periodicals. Among them were *The Islamic Review*, a quarterly publication, *Tatar Life*, and *The Tatar Year Book*.

In an issue of the latter, there appeared an article by one of their leaders, Olguierd Kryczynski dealing with the protection of minorities, that clearly illustrated how very beneficial to both the minority and the dominant ruling majority was an arrangement as liberal and democratic as that granted by Poland to the Tatars. This article was entitled, "The Post-War Nationalist Movement and the Polish Tatars." The purpose was to answer the question: "Does the existence of the Polish Tatars as a separate ethnical group serve any purpose in view of their small number which precludes any idea of autonomy?"

Kryczynski qualified the popular doctrine of the rights of small peoples as a corollary to the rights of the individual. "As the liberty of the individual must be limited in the higher interest of society, so must the liberty of a people be limited in the supreme interest of humanity." Since this doctrine of the rights of small nations was grossly misunderstood, it led finally, in 1918, to the Balkanization of Europe. In the economic sphere, this led to the creation of artificial States incapable of existence, and in the political sphere, these newly-created States were not free from a national egotism which increased the political instability of the entire continent.

The Polish Tatars are proof not only that minority groups can exist as cultural autonomies within the boundaries of larger European States, but also that world-wide cooperation of this type is possible, even between peoples of different race and religion, if the majority will only treat the smaller group with the same wisdom as the Polish Government has treated the Polish Tatars, and if the minority, on the other hand, will respond as intelligently and patriotically to such tolerant treatment.

## P O L I S H   U N D E R G R O U N D   I N   A C T I O N

(Continued from page 13)

still preparing, but will soon join them at the front. All other men capable of bearing arms are in reserve, waiting for weapons. Since October, 1943, German terror in Poland has become worse, in response to the increased activities of the Underground Army. The Germans now publicly announce the names of executed Poles whom they call, 'Polish Union of Insurgents in England's Service,' and simultaneously name the hostages they will execute unless the Underground Army disbands."

Jerzy Jur witnessed an execution in October, 1943 on Pulawska Street in Mokotow, a district of Warsaw. Not only was the execution public, but in a desperate attempt to frighten Poles into submission, the Germans forced the entire population of Mokotow to be present. A cordon of S.S. units and German military police surrounded the execution place after three closed trucks brought in the 100 Poles who were to die.

Although so weak from abusive treatment that they could scarcely move, they all had their hands securely tied behind their backs. The day before they had been drained of their blood

through forced transfusions for the German wounded. They wore only underclothing, and were barefoot. All were gagged, with plaster strips stuck over their mouths to prevent them from shouting "Long Live Poland," in the customary manner of hostages about to be executed. Such cries make far too deep an impression on the people for the comfort of their oppressors. The German police carried out this execution with tommy-guns. The one hundred executed in Jur's presence were killed in three groups, the latter two being forced to witness the death of the first.

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# Premier Mikolajczyk's "Third of May" Address

"It is no accident that our national day for the last one hundred and fifty years falls on the anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution which granted political and religious civic liberties to all classes of our people and introduced far-reaching educational and social reforms.

"Nor was it an accident that the only king whom we call 'the Great' was Casimir, who waged no wars but founded towns and cities, encouraged crafts and trades, and concluded a number of peaceful treaties with neighbors.

"Indeed, the Polish people are a peace-loving nation which deeply values its own freedom and the freedom of other peoples. A Pole can be killed but he cannot be made a slave.

"The Constitution of the Third of May began the long struggle of the Polish nation for freedom. This struggle was waged, not on Polish soil alone. The part the Poles played in the struggle for freedom in both the old world and the new, in America, Spain, France, Italy, Hungary and Greece is well-known. The proud words: 'For our freedom and for yours!' were embroidered on old Polish standards and to this day remain our watchword.

"This passion for freedom was born in the Third of May Constitution which regenerated our people and infused in them a new faith in a better world based on freedom and justice. The lofty principles of the Third of May Constitution endowed our nation with the will to fight and the strength to endure more than a hundred years of national bondage.

"Today our nation in its struggle—underground, on land, at sea, and in the air—still finds inspiration in those principles. Today we are on the threshold of the final battle. We realize that before peace will be given to us, we must make a supreme effort, put the last ounce of our effort in the struggle and do our duty faithfully and loyally to the end.

"On September 1, 1939, our people at home began the struggle in defense of the integrity of the Polish Republic and the right of citizens to a free life. During these five years of ceaseless suffering and toil Poland has done her duty and will continue to do so till the end.

While the Eastern Front is moving westwards, reports are reaching us that our forces are fighting in the provinces of Wilno and Volhynia and other parts of Eastern Poland, that strategic bridges in the rear of von Mannstein's forces are being blown up, the communication lines of the Germans cut.

"As Mr. Bevin has just said, our Air-Force, Navy, and Army are sparing no effort or sacrifice in doing their duty. But it is only natural that our thoughts be directed towards the future and we are seeking new solutions for a better morrow after the victorious conclusion of this war.

"From this war a new world order will emerge. Its outline is still far from clear but we all feel how necessary, how imperative is the need for hard work on its blueprint. The present war has given us a number of practical lessons to be used in building the foundations of a future peace. Germany's unprovoked attack on Poland was preceded by the growth of Nazism and Fascism in Europe. Totalitarianism, with its brute force and lawlessness and oppression, quickly develops into imperialism greedy to rule other peoples, to attack weaker neighbors.

"So, it is not surprising that the ideological aims of this war have been expressed in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms—freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of conscience, freedom of expression. I venture to say that the principles of the Third of May Constitution, which so greatly influenced the character and thought of Poles, show a curious analogy to the principles enunciated by the United Nations in the Atlantic Charter. At any rate, they both sprang from the same source—the desire to see man free and to provide him with a better future. These negative conclusions are easy to reach—they read: away with totalitarianism and aggression.

"But even if we add that democracy and freedom ought to supersede totalitarianism and aggression, the road from the enunciation of these lofty ideals to their practical application will be long and hard. When Nazi Germany collapses under giant blows from the east, west, south, special care and special preventive means will have to be applied to save Europe and the world from new German aggression. All states, particularly those who have been victims of German aggression, should partake in the working out of these means.

"The principle of freedom of the individual must be complemented by the principle of the freedom of the nation and of the state. If every nation is to be free from fear of aggression of their more powerful neighbors, if every one of them gets a fair and free share in the economic resources of the world, if the voice of every State is to be heard in the international community, if every nation is to be free to cultivate its traditions of culture and learning, then the peace that will follow this war will be just and lasting.

"The experience of this war has shown that at the present stage of technical progress, there can be no small local wars. There can only be global wars. Even the greatest powers cannot win wars alone. Between all countries, great and small, there is mutual interdependence. Similarly, in the economic field, there is no return to autarchy. But

these facts do not justify the division of our world into spheres of influence, nor the creation of a union consisting of great powers only, which would dictate to the smaller powers. Indeed, the interdependence of small and great powers is mutual and tomorrow interdependence will be even greater.

"Democracy is to replace totalitarianism as the regime of all nations, but democracy in the international field is no less a necessity if world peace is to be assured. The balanced judgment on the part played by the smaller and greater nations, which we have just heard from Mr. Bevin, strictly corresponds to the views of underground Poland, as expressed in the Declaration of the Council of National Unity on March 15, 1944.

"This declaration demands the creation of an international political organization on democratic principles and endowed with real executive power which would make certain that the injunctions of this organization will not remain on paper only. The basic principles of this organization should be the granting of equal rights to smaller nations, which should also be enabled to take part in decisions concerning the future of international relations.

"The time is approaching when the plans of such an organization will not be an easy job. The structure will be top-heavy if we start building from the top; in that case, the scaffolding may be faulty and the beams would not be riveted closely together. The smaller states would be reduced to satellites or their fate may be even worse.

"In wartime, particularly in the final stage, two things are of paramount importance: unity of the allies and secrecy surrounding military plans. But I do not think all problems of the future should be surrounded by such great secrecy and that disclosures in this field would endanger the Allies' unity. If we assume—as assume we must—that both German and Japan will finally be defeated, there are no obstacles to public discussion of a wide range of subjects affecting the future, provided, of course, that the intentions of all the Allies are honest.

"Indeed, democracy's system demands informed public opinion and needs the support of this public opinion in framing a policy capable of assuring lasting peace. Every 'fait accompli' and the elimination of anyone from the circle of builders of the future, can only bring harm to the Allied cause.

"Europe must be united if the future world security organization is to function properly. I believe the nations of Europe have matured enough to cooperate within the framework of a European organization. I believe that a feeling of a European community has been born from the tragic experiences through which we have passed, the equal of which the world has never known.

"Europe is already a spiritual entity and after the war must become an economic entity, harmoniously cooperating with the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union. In this labyrinth of states and nations which constitute Europe, practical solutions should always precede political solutions. I think, therefore, that the building of the European community should begin with establishing stronger economic and cultural bonds between the countries of Europe. A common transportation system, in the air and on the land, a pool of European currency, and an investment fund to equalize the differences in the levels of prosperity. In various European countries, it should provide strong foundations for political cooperation.

"Within the framework of this European community a voluntary union between States of approximately similar cultural and economic levels should, of course, be allowed. Their purpose should be to strengthen the European community by tackling the problems of a more regional character.

"Briefly, our aims are these: free individuals in a free country, economic and regional unions, a united Europe as a member of a world organization, collaboration on security—these closely knitted links would, together, assure peace and happiness to mankind.

"We are on the eve of a decisive battle for Europe which will be fought in the west. We are certain of victory, but to make it complete it will not be simply crushing Germany—plans for administration of the territory freed from the enemy must be ready as well. Of course, different plans must be made for the administration of enemy territories and for those which belong to Allied nations. Freed nations must be ruled by their own lawful governments as quickly as possible. A clear and unified plan for the restoration of lawful governments in all European territories free from German occupation will act as a spur to the efforts of these nations, will form an efficient means of counteracting German propaganda in this field.

"All Poland is united in her demand for freedom and independence. Nothing can ever destroy or sever the unity between the Polish Government and the home country and underground movements. During four and a half years of war, the Polish nation has fought for its freedom under the guidance of lawful governments and Polish soldiers have paid for this freedom with their blood, shed on the battlefields of France, Norway, Africa, Italy, in the air, on all the seas, and, lastly, in our country. By its suffering and toil and ceaseless struggle, the Polish nation has earned the right to be master in its own house and to true freedom in it. I trust when Poland celebrates her next National Holiday she will be truly free and independent."



# **President Roosevelt's Message to the Polish People**

On the Third of May, the 153rd Anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791, President Roosevelt sent the following message to Wladyslaw Raczekiewicz, President of the Polish Republic:

*"On the occasion of the national anniversary of Poland, I take great pleasure in sending to the Polish people through you my greetings and best wishes in which I am joined by the people of the United States.*

*"It is fitting to recall in this fateful fifth year of the war that it was Poland who first defied the Nazi hordes. The continued resistance of the Polish people against their Nazi oppressors is an inspiration to all.*

*"The relentless struggle being carried on by the United Nations will hasten victory and the liberation of all freedom-loving peoples."*

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT